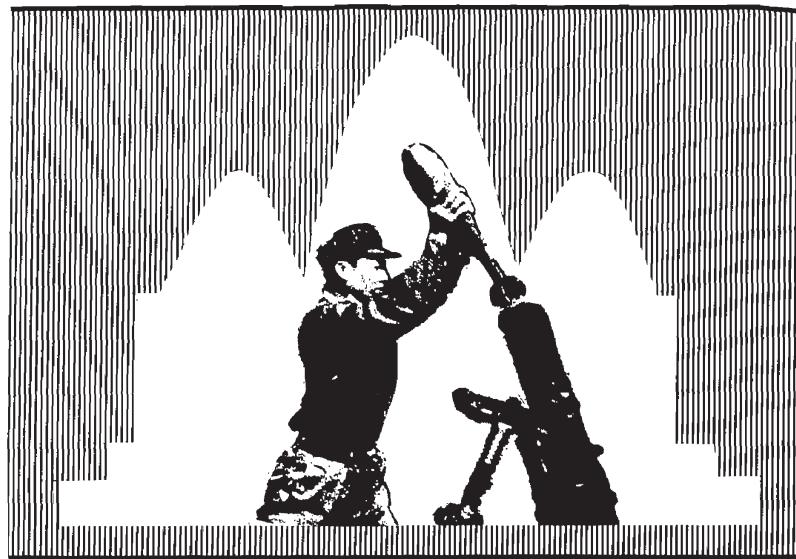


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DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA



WAGING PEOPLE'S WAR

DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA:
WAGING PEOPLE'S WAR

including:

A Statement by the
Coalition in Support
of Democratic Kampuchea

A Brief History of the Vietnamese Aggression

A Statement by the
Government of
Democratic Kampuchea January 11, 1979

A Speech by Prince Norodom Sihanouk
High Ranking Representative of the
Goverment of Democratic Kampuchea
delivered on
January 11, 1979
to the
Security Council
of the
United Nations

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POLITICAL STATEMENT OF THE COALITION
IN SUPPORT OF DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA

Starting last December 25, 1978, 180,000 Vietnamese troops, with the full backing of the Soviet Union, sharply escalated their year-long war of aggression against neighboring Democratic Kampuchea (formerly Cambodia). Vietnam and the Soviet Union have attempted to justify to the world their aggression as an "internal affair" among Kampuchean. They have concocted a puppet front claiming to be the legitimate government of Kampuchea. The "Kampuchean United Front for National Salvation" has absolutely no support from the masses of Kampuchean people.

The Coalition in Support of Democratic Kampuchea has been formed to publicize the real story of the Soviet-Vietnamese invasion, educate the people of the U.S., and help build support for the just struggles of the Kampuchean people and their sovereign government, led by Prime Minister Pol Pot. This is part of the larger goal of continuing to forge friendship between the people of the U.S. and Kampuchea. We have united around these four principles: 1) We oppose the Vietnamese-Soviet invasion, 2) We demand a total pullout of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, 3) We oppose the puppet government and demand that it be granted no political recognition, 4) We support Democratic Kampuchea, led by Prime Minister Pol Pot, as the force leading the struggle against the invasion.

The recent debate in the Security Council of the U.N. has sharply exposed the Soviet's role in the invasion of Kampuchea. The Soviet Union was thoroughly isolated when it vetoed a resolu-

tion calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea. Every day, more and more countries and peoples of the world are coming out against their aggression.

Millions of people in the U.S. protested and organized to stop the United States' aggression in Vietnam, Laos and Cambodia during the 1960's and 70's. Their activities contributed very greatly to bringing that aggression to an end. We are again calling on progressive people in the U.S. to protest and condemn another aggressive war in Southeast Asia. What is happening in Kampuchea is not a question of Cambodian rebels overthrowing their government, nor a question of two neighboring countries warring over a border dispute. The invasion of Kampuchea is a cold and calculated attack in violation of the independence and sovereignty of that country. It is also a direct threat to peace on a worldwide scale.

The heroic people of Kampuchea are seasoned in struggle. Through protracted people's war they have defeated the French and U.S. imperialists, and they will defeat the new aggressors now.

The Coalition calls upon all progressive and peace-loving people to unite with us in condemning the Soviet-Vietnamese invasion of Kampuchea, in calling for the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Kampuchea, in support of the independence of the Kampuchean people and the sovereignty of their country.

VIETNAM AND SOVIET UNION, OUT OF KAMPUCHEA!!
LONG LIVE THE KAMPUCHEAN REVOLUTION!!
LONG LIVE DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA!!

(MIL)

LIST OF COALITION MEMBERS

African Liberation Support Committee
Ethiopian Student Union of North America (N.Y.)
Group of Kampuchean Residents in America (G.K. Ram)
Indian Peoples Association in North America
Iranian Students Association, N.Y., C.I.S.
May 18 Revolutionary Organization of Haiti
Progressive Chinatown Peoples Association
Progressive Eritreans for Liberation (N.Y.)
Third World Peoples Anti-Imperialist Coalition
ZANU Support Committee, N.Y.

Communist Party, M-L
Fightback Organization, N.Y.
League of Proletarian Revolution
League of Revolutionary Struggle
National Liberation Support Committee
Revolutionary Student Brigade
Revolutionary Workers Headquarters
Revolutionary Youth League
Vietnam Veterans Against the War
Workers Viewpoint Organization

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE VIETNAMESE AGGRESSION

As this pamphlet goes to press, the armed forces of Vietnam have more or less completed their occupation of the major cities of Kampuchea (Cambodia), and are now trying to "pacify" the country, and gain international recognition for the "government" they have set up in Phnom Penh.

This conflict poses a very serious problem for everyone who considers himself politically progressive, or is in sympathy with national liberation movements. Kampuchea has had such bad press--not only from known reactionaries, but from elements of the Left as well--that one might hesitate to come to its defense; yet it has clearly been the victim of outright aggression by Vietnam. This is most bewildering, since a few years ago Vietnam seemed to be the very model of a modern liberation struggle. Clearly, the movement for national liberation has reached a major turning point with the development of this extremely sharp contradiction between two newly-liberated countries.

In all such cases, the situation does tend to seem confusing at first sight. Yet there is no room for neutrality; a principled position must be worked out. And such a position must rest on an understanding of the forces at work and their historical development. We offer the following brief outline as a step in that direction.

I

BACKGROUND: TO FALL 1977

During the struggles against French colonialism and U.S. imperialism, the Kampuchean and Vietnamese revolutionaries had been uneasy yokefellows at best. Kampuchea is a small but extremely fertile country; Vietnam is much more populous, and underwent a greater degree of industrialization during the colonial period, but is chronically rice-poor. Furthermore, Kampuchea occupies a highly strategic position with respect to Vietnam. Under these circumstances, it is not surprising that the temptation was felt even in the early years of the liberation movement in Vietnam, and found expression in the line of the "Indochinese Federation"--a line which simply ignored the whole question of Kampuchean national independence.

In the years immediately following World War II, the Vietnamese revolutionary forces formed a considerable presence on Kampuchean territory. As yet, there existed no organized Kampuchean revolutionary movement; so the Vietnamese forces had the field pretty much to themselves. After the Geneva Accords of 1954, the Vietnamese were obliged to withdraw from Kampuchea; at the same time, the revolutionaries in Kampuchea were organizing themselves and growing in strength and influence. In 1960, the Communist Party of Kampuchea was organized and its political line formulated. At the same time, Diem's repression of the revolutionary forces in South Vietnam had inflicted such heavy losses on them that the decision had to be made to return to armed struggle there. Sanc-

tuaries and lines of supply were set up for these Vietnamese forces in Kampuchean territory with the tacit permission of the existing government.

The desire to have the strategic rear under their own control led the Vietnamese leadership to make repeated attempts to "integrate" the Kampuchean revolution with their own by means of unified commands and organs of administration--which, in practice, would have meant subordinating the Kampuchean revolutionary struggle entirely to the tactical needs of the struggle in South Vietnam. In particular, the Vietnamese leadership tried to discourage the Kampuchean revolutionary forces from carrying out armed struggle and establishing base areas in the countryside, so as not to imperil their connections with the existing Kampuchean government. Throughout the Sixties this tendency came into increasingly sharp conflict with the indigenous revolutionary forces in Kampuchea.

This Vietnamese attitude had the backing of the U.S.S.R. for a number of reasons: in the short term, a desire to keep the current Kampuchean government well-disposed toward the U.S.S.R., and, on a longer view, the realization that an independent Kampuchean revolutionary force would imperil the ultimate goal of a monolithic, Moscow-oriented Indochina on China's southern border and strategically placed to dominate all Southeast Asia. Throughout the Sixties, and as late as 1972, Moscow attempted to liquidate the problem of an independent Kampuchean revolutionary movement by setting up rival parties under its own control. These parties were encouraged to play electoral politics and engage in various political maneuvers, but avoid armed struggle.

After the Lon Nol coup of 1970, it became necessary for Hanoi to mend its fences with the Kampuchean revolution, since the struggle in South Vietnam required sanctuaries, bases, supply routes, and provisions in areas controlled by the Kampuchean revolutionary forces. but this did not lead to any re-evaluation of the overall situation either in Hanoi or Moscow. In 1972-73, at the Paris negotiations, Henry Kissinger offered the Vietnamese billions of dollars worth of aid, on the condition that Hanoi could prevail on the Kampuchean revolutionary forces to agree to a cease-fire and negotiations. The Vietnamese leadership found nothing improper in this proposal, and in fact put considerable pressure on the Kampucheans to agree to it --at a time when the Kampuchean revolution was clearly doing very well and could only have lost ground in negotiations. The Kampuchean side stood firm, to the intense annoyance of the Vietnamese, whose desire to speak for all of Indochina had been balked again.

After the liberation of the two countries in 1975, Hanoi was still determined to fulfill this desire, and took immediate steps to do so. Vietnamese troops remained on Kampuchean territory; and Hanoi was slow to remove them in spite of repeated requests from the revolutionary government of Kampuchea. These troops created border incidents in areas where the frontier was vaguely demarcated, which were publicized by Hanoi as though Kampuchean forces had deliberately made incursions into areas internationally recognized as Vietnamese. Coastal islands were seized by Vietnamese troops without any prior attempt at negotiation. The details of this "border conflict" are too complex to recount fully here. Generally speaking, however, history permits us to observe that border disagreements, as such, are not particularly difficult to solve--unless one

of the parties is seeking to exploit them for quite another purpose. Was this the case in the Khmero-Vietnamese "border conflict", and, if so, which was the offending party? Subsequent events, perhaps, best enable us to decide.

During this period, certain highly militaristic and aggressive groupings in the military and intelligence services of the U.S. and Thailand saw opportunity in Kampuchea's embattlement. In the belief that Kampuchea was weak and isolated, and in the hope of recovering some of their own lost influence in Southeast Asia, these elements set up emigre armed forces--including elements of the old Khmer Serei -- which carried out raids against Kampuchea from sanctuaries along the Thai border. At the same time, the attempt was made to prepare public opinion for some further form of intervention. Hence a propaganda campaign almost unequalled for its lurid inventiveness.

Space does not permit us to analyze this campaign of slander as it deserves. Ample historical parallels exist, and as usual in such cases, the various horror stories so eagerly told and re-told by the press rest on an utterly insubstantial foundation of evidence. In this case, the "evidence" consists of tales told to carefully selected reporters by carefully selected "refugees" in prison camps in Thailand, and a few star performers allowed to go on to France and the U.S. Such recitals are known to have been among the conditions of asylum.

Normally, of course, such stories would have been investigated

and criticized by progressives, and at first they were.* But then Vietnam, for its own reasons, added its voice to the chorus-- borrowing Western press reports for the purpose and rebroadcasting them over Radio Hanoi. Sectors of the liberal press who have bought the line that Vietnam is an independent "regional" power, playble against the Soviet Union or China, decided that Kampuchea might as well be sacrificed. And many progressives either found themselves in agreement with the "Indochinese Federation" line, or decided to put their money on the favorite, or were convinced by the apparent unanimity of condemnation; so the voices raised in Kampuchea's defense were few.

II

FALL 1977--FALL 1978

By Fall of 1977, it was clear to Hanoi that a different strategy would be needed. Their attempts to subvert the independence of Kampuchea and its revolution had met with little success; the revolutionary government of Kampuchea had the support of the people, and was successfully rebuilding the country and developing its economy. This fact, plus steadily increasing external trade and international political support for Democratic Kampuchea, made it necessary for Hanoi to move quickly if its ambitions were

*See *Cambodia: Starvation and Revolution*, by George C. Hildebrand and Gareth Porter. Porter, a staunch friend of Hanoi, subsequently decided that the stories were true after all-- shortly after the Vietnamese invasion in 1977.

ever to be realized. Thus it was decided to strike quickly and in force, and present the world with a fait accompli.

In December of that year, fourteen Vietnamese divisions struck across the border and moved deeply into Kampuchean territory. There could no longer be any question of a border conflict; tank columns were heading for Phnom Penh. It is clear that the Vietnamese intended, at the very least, to take over the entire eastern half of the country, and to move across the Mekong and occupy as much territory as possible on its western bank.

It appears, however, that they seriously underestimated either the loyalty and discipline of the Kampuchean army, or its ability to defend itself, regroup quickly and counterattack in force, and at a time of its own choosing. The Vietnamese commanders may have believed that their initial onslaught had thrown the Kampuchean forces into a disorganized rout. In any case, not bothering with "mopping up"--a task which might have proved rather difficult--the Vietnamese forces bypassed large Kampuchean troop concentrations and continued their forward push. They discovered their mistake when simultaneous attacks on the flanks and rear of their columns forced them onto the defensive and robbed their advance of its momentum. Having lost that momentum, they had lost all; the Vietnamese columns found themselves deep in Kampuchean territory, strung out along the highways, vulnerable on their flanks, cut off from their rear, and under constant, heavy attack. Getting this far into Kampuchea had been surprisingly easy; getting out proved to be more difficult. By early January of 1978, the invading armies

had struggled back to the border, sustaining heavy losses, and retired to lick their wounds.

Their "karate chop" strategy had rather embarrassingly failed. Further attempts were made at coups d'etat, employing agents within Kampuchea for the purpose, but these also failed; and after the discovery of one such plan, in May of 1978, in a message to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea, Samdech Norodom Sihanouk observed:

"No matter whether it is an imperialist big power or an expansionist country, whoever ventures to encroach on Democratic Kampuchea in any way will surely suffer a most ignominious defeat."

III PALL 1978 TO THE PRESENT

By this time, militarization of the Vietnamese economy was creating serious strains. Industrial development was falling increasingly behind schedule (falling short of planned quotas by 15% at the end of 1978, according to Vietnamese official figures). The agricultural sector, still largely unmodernized, was extended to the utmost and encountering serious difficulties--1978 saw a rice deficit of three million metric tons--and conscription and austerity were producing discontent and resentment among the people. But to abandon the scheme of conquest would mean risking the loss of aid, now vital, from Moscow; so another step was taken on the path of economic and political dependence, and the Vietnamese leadership went back to the bank in the Kremlin. Vietnam joined the CMEA ("COMECON") in June, 1978, and signed a treaty of friend-

ship and cooperation, containing a military assistance clause, with the U.S.S.R. in November. Massive shipments of arms from the U.S.S.R. were received shortly thereafter, along with several thousand Soviet military advisors, and by December Hanoi was ready for another try.

This time, in order to provide a Khmer cover for invasion, they set up a "Front"--a nicely overlooked in 1977. This "Front" has a certain comical aspect: it seems to be composed of people off the street. None of its leading elements are known to have played any notable role in Kampuchean politics before. For example, Heng Samrin, the chairman of the "Front", is variously described in press reports as an army political commissar at various levels, a divisional commander, battalion commander, and a brigade commander; Khmers active in the revolution for many years have never heard of him.

By late December of 1978, the invasion was well under way. At least thirteen divisions--130,000 troops--had entered Kampuchea, with extremely heavy air support. (Estimates range as high as eighteen divisions.) At this point, the Vietnamese leaders may have been somewhat concerned for their international reputation; on December 23, in Phnom Penh, assassins attacked a guest house in which three Western journalists--Richard Dudman, Elizabeth Becker, and Malcolm Caldwell--were staying, and murdered Caldwell. His sympathy for Kampuchea and his skepticism about the atrocity stories were well known; and, as a respected progressive journalist, his eyewitness testimony in favor of Kampuchea would have had a significant impact on public opinion.

IV

THE CURRENT SITUATION AND THE PROGNOSIS

As we go to press, the invaders are in a position rather worse than that of Lon Nol. They hold some of the major cities--though their hold is precarious; Kompong Som has changed hands three times and Pursat twice. They dare not move along the highways, unless they do so in force, and having to rebuild every bridge they come to slows them down a good deal. Their supply lines are extremely extended and vulnerable. Their troops are not ethnic Khmers, and aerial bombardment does nothing to endear them to the Kampuchean people, who supported the government even before the Vietnamese arrived. It goes without saying that the invaders have failed to pacify the countryside. Fighting continues everywhere, especially near the Vietnamese border, where their control ought to be strongest.

Hanoi will not be able to maintain an army of occupation, numbering over 100,000 men, in Kampuchea for any length of time without a vastly increased militarization of their already troubled economy and the consequent total dependence on the Soviet Union. So they must now hope to throttle off any route of resupply from outside the country, expecting that this will cause resistance to collapse. But even if they do succeed in cutting off all external supplies--by no means a certainty--such supplies are not necessary to forces fighting people's war. Materiel can be captured from the enemy, and food supplied by base areas within the country. Thus,

if the Vietnamese expect to starve out the government forces, they will have to starve the people as well.

Thus, the invasion is not only an economic burden to Hanoi; it is rapidly turning into a political liability as well. Only the U.S.S.R. and a few countries within its immediate orbit have extended diplomatic recognition to the puppet government. The A.S.E.A.N. countries (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines) have condemned the invasion and demanded the withdrawal of all foreign troops; and the U.N. Security Council passed a resolution to the same effect, sponsored by the non-aligned nations on the Council (Bangladesh, Bolivia, Gabon, Jamaica, Kuwait, Nigeria, and Zambia). This resolution was vetoed by the Soviet Union--on the plous ground that it constituted an interference in the internal affairs of Kampuchea! Statements of support for Kampuchea and opposition to the invasion have been made by Rumania, Yugoslavia, and North Korea, among others.

Progressives in the developed nations are also beginning to see the implications of this invasion; coalitions supporting Kampuchea have formed in major cities in the U.S. and Europe, and demonstrations have been held in New York, Los Angeles, Chicago, Oslo, Stockholm, Paris, Dacca, Rome, India and elsewhere. Organizations and governments giving humanitarian and development aid to Vietnam are reconsidering; for example, the Nordic countries have canceled an aid program amounting to several hundred million dollars a year, and an important group of Japanese agricultural

organizations has canceled a program of rice shipments desperately needed by Vietnam.

In summation, prospects for the ultimate victory of the Kampuchean revolution against attempts at annexation are excellent. The bankruptcy, even as short-term realpolitik, of dependence on a Soviet mortgage has become unmistakably clear; and so has the danger posed by such a policy to countries having the misfortune to be the neighbors of an aspiring "regional power". The Soviet Union, and those countries which have hitched their wagon to its somewhat tarnished star, stand isolated as the main source of aggression and war in the world today, and their contempt for the independence and sovereignty of nations can no longer be concealed. And once again, the lesson is clear: the liberation of nations stands or falls, not by "superior arms", but by the people's will.

INTERNATIONAL REACTION TO THE INVASION

Except for the countries most thoroughly dominated by the Soviet Union, world opinion of the actions of Vietnam has been strongly negative. Of particular interest are the reactions of Asian and nonaligned countries.

The foreign ministers of the A.S.E.A.N. countries (Thailand, Malaysia, Singapore, Indonesia, and the Philippines), meeting in Bangkok, issued a statement on January 13 demanding immediate and total withdrawal of foreign forces from Kampuchean territory, and calling on the U.N. Security Council to take necessary steps to restore peace, security, and stability in Indochina. Some days previously, the Japanese government had warned Vietnam that it would "cautiously assess" its aid policy--amounting to \$70 million in the coming fiscal year--since such aid was designed to improve living standards in Vietnam, not boost its military strength. In the Philippines, the Daily Express, in an editorial of January 12, commented that "The bigger fear, particularly to the Southeast Asian nations, lies in the attainment by Vietnam of its dreams of an "Indochina Federation", and concluded that the implications of the invasion were "...alarming, and should spur governments of the region to immediately reassess their internal stability and defense capabilities in the light of the new development." The Times Journal of the Philippines said on the same day that "The startling developments brought about by the Vietnamese military blitzkrieg have posed new dangers to the Southeast Asian region." It quoted

Prince Sihanouk's observation that Thailand, Malaysia, and Singapore would be next and remarked that "His prediction should not be dismissed easily." In Thailand, the Dao Siam said in an editorial that Vietnam had mobilized military forces to intrude into Kampuchea, and warned that Thailand might be next (January 11); the previous day, an article in the paper said that the invasion proved that Vietnamese Premier Pham Van Dong was a liar in declaring that Vietnam "cherishes peace" and "renounces war".

Among the nonaligned countries, Yugoslavia has been particularly forthright in its criticism. On January 11, the spokesman of the Foreign Secretariat declared that Kampuchea's independence, sovereignty, and territorial integrity...have been placed in question by foreign military intervention," and stated that "...any foreign aggression or intervention under the pretext of disagreement with a country's social-political system or any other excuse is impermissible." The following day, a senior Yugoslav official, Milos Minic, suggested that the invasion was an attempt by the Soviet Union to extend its sphere of influence. And the Foreign Minister, Josip Vrhovec, warned of the dangers of hegemony, and insisted that "we must consistently adhere to the principles of the policy of independence against foreign intervention and foreign interference" at a dinner for the foreign minister of Cuba.

Finally, in North Korea, the Pyongyang newspaper Rodong Sinmun on January 12 carried an editorial on the invasion. As we go to press, we have only an abridged wire-service translation of this editorial, which runs as follows:

According to reports, huge armed forces invading from outside have brought under their control almost the whole territory of Kampuchea including the capital city of Phnom Penh.

The government of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam claims that the present situation has been created by an "armed uprising" of the "National United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea."

But the world's broad public would not believe in this claim nor can believe in it.

The government of Democratic Kampuchea is an independent lawful government established at the general will of the Kampuchean people.

Democratic Kampuchea is a sovereign and independent state recognized by Southeast Asian countries including Vietnam and a great many countries of the world and a full-fledged member of the non-aligned movement.

Even according to the announcement of the Vietnamese side, the "National United Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea" was formed about a month ago. How can it mobilize in such a short period vast quantities of military equipment including so many planes, tanks and artillery pieces and regular armed forces of more than 10 divisions? This surpasses the imagination of the ordinary people.

It is not without reason that the world public views the present armed control of Democratic Kampuchea as one by a massive military action of the Vietnamese side.

It is intolerable to resort to an open armed action against a legitimate revolutionary power and overthrow it, under whatever pretext it may be committed.

But Vietnam calls the revolutionary power of Kampuchea and its leaders a "clique" and launched an open armed intervention to overthrow the revolutionary power of Kampuchea for the mere reason that it does not agree with their policy and style of work.

The Vietnamese control of Kampuchea by crossing the border through a massive military action is an outright infringement upon the national independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea and a crude violation of the publicly recognized international law.

This is an open challenge discrediting socialism and endangering peace.

In particular, the Kampuchean people offered the area of Parrot Peak and many other areas of Kampuchea as the operational and supply bases and actively supported and cooperated with the Vietnamese

people materially and morally at the difficult time of the Vietnamese people's war of resistance against U.S. aggression and for national salvation in defiance of the wanton pressure and armed intervention by the imperialists and the reactionaries at home.

It must be said that the act of Vietnam is an ungrateful act discarding the revolutionary sense of duty.

Kampuchea and Vietnam are both members of the non-aligned movement.

The non-aligned movement takes it as its lofty idea to oppose all brands of domination and subjugation and defend independence. This movement takes as the basic principle of its activities respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-interference in each other's internal affairs and non-use of force.

From the first days of the dispute between Democratic Kampuchea and Vietnam we have advised that it should be solved in a peaceful way through negotiations between the two fraternal countries.

The present developments in Kampuchea give a serious lesson to the world people.

We witness clearly here once again that the ambition for dominating and controlling other countries can be seen in a comparably small country, too.

It is clear that if a precedent of one country dominating and controlling another country with strength is overlooked today, some other country will conquer and subjugate still another country tomorrow.

If the jungle law prevalent in the last period is permitted now, the revolutionary cause of the people for building an independent and prosperous world will suffer a serious setback.

Therefore, the world people should heighten vigilance against all sorts of dominationist aggressive manoeuvres and unite strength in opposing them.

Only by waging a vigorous struggle against imperialism and dominationism, can the people consolidate national independence, achieve the independent development of the country and build a free and peaceful, new world free from all manner of domination and subjugation.

The world people should not allow any forms of aggression and intervention by anyone but take more positive steps lest such act should repeat in the future.

As historical experience shows, the action of dominating and ruling others would bring nothing good.

We advise Vietnam to ponder over the matter and immediately withdraw its armed forces from the Kampuchean territory.

We hope that the national sovereignty and territorial integrity of Kampuchea will be guaranteed, the Kampuchean people be left to shape their destiny by themselves and an era of genuine peace come to Southeast Asia at an early date.

(Xinhua)

**STATEMENT OF THE GOVERNMENT OF
DEMOCRATIC KAMPUCHEA JANUARY 11, 1979**

The Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists, swallowers of territory of Kampuchea and exterminators of the Kampuchean nation have mobilized huge forces, including a lot of tanks and heavy artillery pieces as well as planes of all kinds, such as MiG-19-21-23 to launch large-scale invasion and aggression against Democratic Kampuchea, causing immense devastations to the Kampuchean people, and temporarily occupied a number of cities and the capital of Phnom Penh. Concerning this situation, the Government of Democratic Kampuchea would like to issue the following Statement :

The frenzied invasion by the Vietnamese aggressors supported by their master, the Soviet Union, is the most criminal act aiming at exterminating the nation and the people of Kampuchea. This situation causes indeed temporary difficulties to the Kampuchean people. But the heroic Kampuchean people and the heroic Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea have most courageously opposed the enemy in their capacity as the holders of the banner of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the glorious Democratic Kampuchea, the banner of national honour and dignity of the Kampuchean people. They are resolute in fighting the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories and their masters with blazing hatred and loftiest revolutionary heroism. This struggle is spreading all over the country, its intensity surpassing that at the beginning of

our five-year war. Endowed with this heroism, our whole people and whole revolutionary army of Kampuchea are determined to unite as one, endure all kinds of difficulties and sufferings, and continue to carry out the people's war in conformity with the Statement made by Prime Minister Pol Pot dated January 5, 1979, to resolutely and totally annihilate the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexationists and swallowers of territories.

At present, the heroic people and Revolutionary Army of Kampuchea are waging a resolute struggle, resolutely refuse to kneel down in front of the Vietnamese enemy. The experiences in the history of struggle of the Kampuchean people themselves as well as those in the history of the peoples the world over have clearly confirmed that any people, victim of aggression and oppression, once they are resolute to struggle, will surely triumph. We have now preserved all our effective strength. All the leaders headed by Comrade Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Kampuchea and Prime Minister of the Government of Democratic Kampuchea Pol Pot are now leading the Kampuchean people in the sacred territory of Kampuchea to courageously wage the struggle, and all are resolutely and categorically determined to hold aloft the banner of the Kampuchean nation, the banner of independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, national honour and dignity and the race of Kampuchea and to ensure their perenniarity, despite all difficulties and sacrifices they have to surmount and endure.

The Government of Democratic Kampuchea having Comrade Secretary Pol Pot as Prime Minister, in its capacity as the one responsible for the destiny of the whole

SPEECH BY PRINCE NORODOM SIHANOUK
DELIVERED TO THE U.N. SECURITY COUNCIL
JANUARY 11, 1979

action and people of Kampuchea, would like to said upon :

1. - All peace-and-justice-loving governments and peoples in the world and to support its struggle in all kinds and in all forms against the Vietnamese enemy aggressors, annexators and invaders of territories, condemn them, cut off all aid to them and categorically demand the immediate and total withdrawal of all Vietnamese aggressors from the territory of Democratic Kampuchea.

2. - All Kampuchean compatriots, at home and abroad, to absolutely unite themselves and to carry out the struggle, not to become slaves of Vietnam, not to let their nation disappear, not to let the Vietnamese plunder and oppress Kampuchea at their will. The Vietnamese enemy have exacerbated and are further exacerbating the contradictions with the whole nation and people of Kampuchea. These contradictions are very deep and will be each day deeper and deeper. Therefore, the Vietnamese enemy are now in the middle of the vulgarization of national hatred of the whole nation and people of Kampuchea who are fighting against them. Everybody has clearly seen the nature of these fundamental and sharp life-and-death contradictions.

The entire Kampuchean people will form the broadest national, democratic and patriotic united front and carry out the fight against the Vietnamese aggressors through to the end. They will annihilate the aggressors and liberate all the occupied territories, and thus make their contribution to the peace, security and stability in Asia and in the Pacific region. Final victory belongs to the Kampuchean people.

The Kampuchean nation, the Kampuchean people, the Kampuchean race, the Kampuchean traditions and civilization will live for ever !

Respected Mr. President of the Security Council,
Respected Mr. Secretary General,
Respected Mr. Chiefs of Delegation,
Honorable delegates,

Firstly may I be permitted to thank the members of the Council most sincerely for the genuine sympathy they have extended to the people of Democratic Kampuchea. As a result of that sympathy, today I have been granted the honour of coming here to give them an objective account of the Kampuchean problem, or, rather, the current Kampuchean-Vietnamese problem.

As indeed the whole world knows, my country is the victim of a large-scale act of flagrant aggression by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a country which had described itself as our "brother", our "faithful companion in arms in the anti-colonialist and anti-imperialist struggle", a country which had asserted that it was a "socialist comrade", "belonging, as does Cambodia, to the camp of the non-aligned States".

In the not too distant past or, more precisely, throughout the 1960s and 1970s, the principal leaders of the party and the Government of the Democratic Republic of Viet Nam and those of the National Liberation Front and the Provisional Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, in particular Le Duan, First Secretary of the Vietnamese Communist Party, Pham Van Dong, Prime Minister of the Republic of Vietnam, Vo Nguyen Giap, Deputy Prime Minister, Minister of National Defence and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, Nguyen Huu Tho and Huynh Tan Phat, respectively Head of State and Head of Government of the Revolutionary Government of the Republic of South Vietnam, write to Norodom Sihanouk, then Head of State of Cambodia (Kampuchea), that "now as in the future and to the very end of time" their

socialist Vietnam, their revolutionary Vietnam, their anti-colonialist, anti-imperialist, anti-war Vietnam held it to be and would continue to hold it to be their sacred duty scrupulously and unswervingly to respect the independence, sovereignty, neutrality and territorial integrity of "fraternal" Kampuchea.

But, on the very morrow of the final victory, in April 1975 - a victory over imperialism - and in the wake of the reunification of the two Vietnam, North and South, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam decided, cold-bloodedly, to embark upon a very special "operation" the ultimate goal of which was nothing less than to swallow up "little" Kampuchea just as a starving boa constrictor would fling itself upon an innocent animal.

Starving - that certainly is and has been an apt description of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam. All the newspapers, all television and radio networks in all the countries of the world, with the exception of course of the countries closely linked to the USSR and the USSR itself, have stressed and continue to stress repeatedly that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, ever since its victory at the end of April 1975, has been sinking ever deeper - and with what desperation - into the abyss of economic and financial failure without any possibility of recovery, its agriculture, which has been very prosperous in the South of the country during the period of French colonialism, on the verge of collapse; its industrialization marked by disorderly planning and a surprising confusion and its administration, to say the least, becoming ever more corrupt.

In the circumstances, a Democratic Kampuchea in full economic upswing, possessing vast rice paddies ever more admirably and fully irrigated and innumerable fields where fruit trees, maize, sugar-cane, all kinds of vegetables and other crops grow in great profusion, not to mention the wealth that lies in its subsoil and the harmonious

expansion of its industrialization, could not but arouse envy in our great neighbour where an age-old tradition - a tradition held in "high esteem" by all the successive Vietnamese regimes so far - was prompting it to undertake the highly "profitable" colonization of Kampuchea.

Your Excellency Mr. President,
Your Excellency Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

My saying what I have just said about Vietnam does not constitute interference in the internal affairs of that country; there is a necessity which makes it my duty to create a better understanding of the reasons why my fatherland has always had to put up with acts of aggression and other armed attacks from Vietnam, which have been going on since the fifteenth century.

From the fifteenth to the beginning of the twentieth century, Vietnam, in spite of the bitter and indomitable resistance of the army and people of Kampuchea, succeeded in swallowing up a good half of Kampuchea. That half became what is known today as "South Vietnam", it used to be the south of Kampuchea.

Although this is inconceivable in the 1970s, when all the talk is of respect for the United Nations Charter and the just principles of non-alignment, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, a Member moreover of the United Nations and a full-fledged member of the "family" of the non-aligned countries, is not embarrassed by any scruples. Greatly encouraged by its multivarious alliances, in particular a de facto military alliance with the USSR, one of the two world super-Powers, drawing comfort from the total and unconditional support accorded it by the Powers of the "Warsaw Pact", with the exception of Romania, respecting the "good" ancestral traditions of shamelessly swallowing up small neighbours whenever the opportunity presented

itself, and motivated also, we must point out, by the keen appetite that it had nurtured for many years, the Socialist Republic of Vietnam came to the point of launching an all-out attack with all the power of its "Hitlerite" armed forces for the conquest of Kampuchea.

The irresistible advance of a host of armoured tanks and cars, accompanied by a dozen infantry divisions supported by the most modern heavy artillery, preceded and protected by innumerable aircraft of all types, including MIG-21s and some MIG-23s; that advance, a veritable German-style "blitzkrieg" in nature, strangely reminds us of the onslaught of the Hitlerite armed forces to which so many European countries - France and Poland in particular - fell victim at the beginning of the Second World War.

All this shows how monstrous and dastardly is the current conquest of my little country by the big neighbour whose numerical superiority is compounded by a formidable military outfit, equipped to the teeth as it is by one of the two most formidable military Powers in the world today.

Respected Mr. President of the Security Council,
Respected Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish now to say something about the so-called "National United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea" and its so-called Government.

The Government, press and radio of Hanoi themselves have very spontaneously been declaring to the world at large that this Front was created and existed only since the date of 2 December 1978. I repeat, 2 December 1978.

Now the formidable Guderian or Rommel-style "blitzkrieg"

which was launched by the so-called Front for the National Salvation of Kampuchea was unleashed against us on 25 December 1978. I repeat, 25 December 1978.

Even schoolchildren at the primary level would be unable to believe that in the extremely short space of only 22 days, this tiny and insignificant so-called Kampuchean Front could recruit, equip, teach, train and lick into shape such an "Olympian" armed force of so many components and furthermore equipped with machines and weapons requiring a perfect mastery of electronics and ballistics, not to mention the "special" skills that can be possessed only by units which have already taken part in large-scale operations.

In the face of the insolent claim on the part of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam to the effect that the war that is raging in Kampuchea (Cambodia) is only a civil war without any Vietnamese involvement, the Kampuchean people, through me, has the honour of asserting vigorously that this war is purely a war of aggression, annexation, colonization and regional hegemonism unilaterally, arbitrarily and unjustly unleashed by the Socialist Republic of Vietnam against little Kampuchea.

The so-called Kampuchea National United Front for National Salvation and its "Government" are, in fact, only a pitiful smoke-screen designed to hide from the outside world the criminal and repugnant anti-Kampuchean undertaking of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which shows its contempt of other sovereign countries and peoples of the world by feeding them such obvious lies that even a child cannot give them any credence.

Those countries which have hastened to accord "de jure" recognition to the "Government" of Heng Samrin, the pitiful puppet of the Vietnamese, expose themselves as the intimate accomplices that they are of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam in its current

attempt to annihilate independent, sovereign, neutral and non-aligned Kampuchea.

The States and the mass media which prize justice, freedom and moral and political probity have in recent days made a point of clearly denouncing the deep-dyed deceit of Vietnam and of inviting the whole world to exercise pressure on it to make it give up its criminal enterprise right away, thus making it possible, in accordance with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter, for Democratic Kampuchea and the Kampuchean people to recover their independence and national territorial integrity.

If by chance there is any problem dividing the Kampuchean, this problem must and should be resolved by Kampuchean alone without any interference from outside countries.

Your Excellency Mr. President,
Your Excellency Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I should like to present to the Council certain governmental statements from countries that love justice, independence and peace which show, first, that the so-called National United Front for National Salvation of Kampuchea and its "Government" are only puppets of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; secondly, that Democratic Kampuchea is clearly the victim of a flagrant act of aggression and invasion, the "work" of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam; and, thirdly, that the criminal Vietnamese enterprise must be categorically condemned and everything possible done to induce Vietnam to evacuate all its armed and other forces from Kampuchea.

A - United States of America

His Excellency Ambassador Andrew Young said :

"It would be most cynical for us to allow Governments to be stricken from the rolls simply because another Power moves in and says it no longer exists. I would be reluctant, if I were the Soviet Union and Vietnam, to admit that the Government no longer exists, because it would seem as though they knew too much about it to be innocent of it."

Mr. Hodding Carter, a United States State Department spokesman, stated :

"Yes, Vietnam, through its invasion of Kampuchea, is guilty of invasion. They (the Vietnamese) have violated the territorial integrity of Kampuchea. What we clearly want is the withdrawal of foreign intervention."

B - Japan

His Excellency Mr. Sonoda, Foreign Minister of Japan, said :

"The Japanese Government will call for the withdrawal of Vietnamese troops from Kampuchea."

C - Kuwait

His Excellency the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Kuwait, Sheikh Jaber Al-Ahmed Al-Sabah, declared :

"We informed the Soviet Ambassador that we are opposed to any aggression against the sovereignty and freedom of a small nation. We hold that every Member of the United Nations has the right to call for a Security Council session as it thinks necessary. We support Kampuchea's demand. She has been subjected to an aggression which needs to be discussed at the Security Council. Such

an aggression implies a threat to the security and territorial integrity of a sovereign State."

D - Sweden

His Excellency Mr. Hans Olix, Foreign Minister of Sweden, said :

" Foreign intervention in Kampuchea is a threat to the interests of all small countries. The Swedish Government is opposed to foreign military intervention in Kampuchea, considering it a violation of the United Nations Charter."

E - Colombia

His Excellency Mr. Diego Uribe Vargas, Foreign Minister of Colombia, stated :

" Any menace to peace, no matter what it is, is an event which causes peoples' preoccupation. I believe that the United Nations should act immediately."

F - Australia

His Excellency Mr. Malcolm Fraser, Prime Minister of Australia, declared :

" The Vietnamese invasion has created risk of serious intensification of the war into a regional conflict which would have serious consequences for all who live in the region. The very fact that Vietnam has signed an agreement that contains security elements with the Soviet Union tends to introduce the Eastern-bloc approach to politics in South-East Asia."

G - Romania

According to the official daily newspaper of the Romanian Communist Party, *Scîntea*, Romania condemns :

" the support given (by Vietnam) to elements which have risen against the authorities of their own country. There can be no

arguments to justify intervention and interference in the affairs of another State, whatever form they may take."

H - Yugoslavia

Mr. Cedomir Vuchovic, commentator of the State Radio of Yugoslavia, has said :

" Every people, including the people of Cambodia, has the right to decide on its own what system it will build. It is quite another question whether this system pleases or does not please someone outside."

Respected Your Excellency Mr. President,
Respected Your Excellency Mr. Secretary General,
Respected Your Excellencies Chiefs of Delegation,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

I wish now to describe to members very briefly the situation now prevailing in my country, Democratic Kampuchea.

1 - The Vietnamese enemy has occupied Phnom Penh, our capital, most of our cities, and part of our countryside.

2 - The Government and Army of Democratic Kampuchea, the only legal State of Kampuchea, are respectively administering and defending our country in the unoccupied zone, which contains a small number of towns near the Kampuchean-Thai border, as well as part of the national territory.

The leaders of Democratic Kampuchea are still in our country; the seat of our Government is in one of our mountains. Our Government, our Army, our people, are fighting and will fight to the death against the Vietnamese expansionist and colonialist invader.

We shall never surrender. We may lose everything, but we will never lose our national honour.

Respected Your Excellency Mr. President,
Respected Your Excellency Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

Before concluding my statement, I wish to point out to His Excellency, the head of the Soviet delegation, which is so hostile to mine, that the fact that the legal government of a given country has lost a battle to an enemy Power having overwhelming superiority in arms and that it has had to yield temporary control over the capital of that country, does not mean that the legal Government in question becomes, *ipso facto*, illegal and that it has to be replaced in the United Nations by a puppet régime put together by the foreign occupier. In 1940, General de Gaulle, the true symbol of France, had to retreat to London following the temporary loss of the French capital, Paris, to the Hitlerite invaders.

In his statement just now in favour of the Kampuchean traitors in the pay of the Vietnamese conquerors, His Excellency the Ambassador of the Soviet Socialist Republics seemed to care more about Kampuchea than the Kampuchean themselves - which cannot fail to be surprising.

In response to this surprising pretension, permit me to recall that the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics has the bad habit of remaining in Phnom Penh with Kampuchean traitors. Between 1970 and 1975, instead of standing shoulder to shoulder with the Kampuchean patriots who were fighting against imperialism and the clique of the traitor Lon Nol, the Soviet Embassy made a particular point of collaborating and co-operating with the reactionary Lon Nol group, fascist and war criminals though they were. The same applied to Czechoslovakia, whose present régime gladly allowed Russian tanks in 1968 to crush Czechoslovak patriots.

I shall say nothing more about that right now.

Respected Your Excellency Mr. President,
Respected Your Excellency Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

In conclusion, we should like to express to the Council our deep gratitude and our confidence, and we sincerely hope that in its forthcoming resolution, it will for the sake of justice and peace in the world, firstly, condemn the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, which has without any justification committed aggression and invaded and colonized Democratic Kampuchea; secondly, ensure that there is no *de jure* or even *de facto* recognition of the so-called new State of Kampuchea; thirdly, demand that the Socialist Republic of Vietnam put an immediate end to its aggression and withdraw totally, unconditionally and immediately all its armed forces and all its military and civilian components from the territory of Kampuchea; fourthly, call on all the specialized agencies of the United Nations and other international organizations connected with the United Nations and all Governments throughout the world to cease and refuse any financial, economic, military, material or other aid to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and its puppets, in order to prevail upon Vietnam to give up its brutal treatment of Kampuchea and its threatening of other countries of South-East Asia and stability and peace in Asia and throughout the world; fifthly, in the event of Vietnam's continuing its totally unjustified aggression and maltreatment of Kampuchea, reconvene in order to take further appropriate measures to prevail upon Vietnam to respect the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity and peace of Kampuchea, in keeping with the spirit and letter of the United Nations Charter.

Respected Your Excellency Mr. President,
Respected Your Excellency Mr. Secretary General,
Excellencies, Ladies and Gentlemen,

From the bottom of my heart I thank the members of the Council for their concern for me.